HUMAN EVENTS

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Labor Probe: Despite evidence being produced before the McClellan Committee of his association and collaboration with racketeer elements, Jimmy Hoffa's election as president of the powerful Teamsters Union now appears virtually assured.

Hoffa became the odds-on favorite for the post immediately upon his acquittal of charges of attempting to plant a spy on the McClellan Committee staff. This week, the odds grew even longer with the withdrawal from the race of John T. "Sandy" O'Brien of Chicago, who had been backed by a small reform element within the union.

● In a sidelight on the Hoffa probe, HUMAN EVENTS learns that during an executive session of the McClellan Committee, in which counsel Robert Kennedy was detailing to members what would be brought out during the hearings on Hoffa's relations with New York gangsters, Kennedy commented:

"I think you can go through Dave Beck and some of these other people who steal a little money and then leave, or you catch up with them, and they are relatively harmless. But if you get into something where a person is interested in power, and gaining control of many things, then I think it is a real danger."

Observers of the labor scene agree that the threat of such control is a "real danger." But they point out that the same comment should be applied to Hoffa's arch-rival, UAW President Walter Reuther — who is demonstrably as hungry for political power as Hoffa is for economic power.

● On the subject of Reuther, the fires of GOP resentment are banked, but still smouldering. Republican Senators participated recently in a "conciliatory" meeting of the Rackets Committee, in which they expressed their belief that counsel Kennedy would soon get on with the job of investigating Reuther. In the light of the known GOP feeling that there has been considerable footdragging about a probe of the UAW boss, political observers analyze this "conciliation" as follows:

First, the GOP Senators were concerned with avoiding a breach in the ranks of the committee members. An open split — if it can possibly be avoided — would hurt the effectiveness of the probe.

Second, steps toward an investigation of Reuther & Co., under the revised procedures of the committee, have been initiated. While certain aspects of the projected inquiry stir GOP misgivings, the Republicans are awaiting developments. The long process of gathering data on Reuther has at last begun, and a committee staff member is now in Kohler, Wis. Hearings are not expected for several months.

Third, political students speculate, the GOP — if a break must come — can more effectively and usefully dramatize committee derelictions in 1958, an election year. If the Democrat-dominated committee fumbles the Reuther question that long, the GOP will have an air-tight issue.

● The *Daily Worker* last week took worried notice of the committee's revamped program. In a July 28 "news story," headlined "McClellan Committee Shifts to Sinister Plan to Smear UAW," the *Worker* stated that Reuther's policy of "cooperating" with the Labor committee was based on the assumption that only the "true facts" of the Kohler strike and UAW political activity would be investigated.

"But," the *Worker* fretted, "what if the committee starts a fishing expedition into the Socialist and radical backgrounds of the Reuther and Mazey brothers?" The Communist paper answered the question by reporting:

> **"If this should happen, some Left UAW forces here declare, Reuther may be confronted with the need for using the Fifth Amendment as an essential defense measure to safeguard the UAW in such smearing probes."**

Status of Forces: Informed sources on Capitol Hill express grave misgivings about the flimsy "Status of Forces" bill (H.R. 8704) reported out by the House Armed Services Committee, August 1. The bill provides that decisions to yield jurisdiction over U.S. personnel are the responsibility of the civilian secretaries of the armed services.

One Congressman, a veteran opponent of foreign trials for American GI's, told HUMAN EVENTS: "The bill does nothing to correct the basic evils of the agreements. But it would at least blow away some of the fog of bureaucratic anonymity that surrounded the Girard decision."

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The legislator expressed fear — as have others on Capitol Hill — that the bill may be part of a "double envelopment" maneuver by defenders of the "Status of Forces" arrangements. For the bill could be used to appease public anger without correcting any fundamental abuses.

According to this view, protests against H.R. 8704 from the Departments of State and Defense supply the second flank of the "envelopment." As one Capitol Hill veteran put it: "By pretending they are bruised by this feather, they may convince the American people that something is being done to stop the 'giveaway' of American rights."

House strategists now believe that there is only one course available for significant modification of the agreements: to attach an amendment, similar to Representative Bow's H.J. Res. 16 (now bottled up in the Rules Committee), to the foreign aid appropriations bill.

Coexistence: Omens of a new era of "coexistence" find their way increasingly into the news columns — a development diagnosed in its early stages by HUMAN EVENTS two months ago (June 8, 1957). In rapid succession have come renewed pressures for trade with Red China, TV interviews with Communist dictators Khrushchev and Tito, and President Eisenhower's remarks indicating that he favored an American meeting with Marshal Zhukov — "the butcher of Budapest."

This "be nice to the Communists" trend, conservatives believe, is considerably aided by the welter of recent Supreme Court decisions favorable to the Red cause. If the public can be persuaded that homegrown Communists are harmless, it is said, the new epoch of foreign "friendliness" would not be far off.

To date there has been encouraging resistance to such "softness" on both the foreign and domestic fronts. Senator John M. Butler (R.-Md.) spoke out vigorously last week against a "summit" meeting with Zhukov — predicting that "this latest 'trial balloon' will be deflated" by public disapproval. Similarly, reactions against appeasement of Red China have been forthcoming from influential sources (including Secretary of State Dulles), and opposition to the Supreme Court's "Red Monday" decisions is gaining in strength (see "High Court" item, below).

Nevertheless, Capital conservatives are worried. Such constant emphasis on appeasement at high official levels, backed by the power of "liberal" commentators, may — it is felt — eventually blunt the natural aversion of the American people toward trafficking with the Red slave regimes. If public opinion here can be softened to that extent, long strides down the path to appeasement are feared.

Against this background, veteran foreign observers note two further "coexistence" developments which occurred last week:

1) As the Soviet-installed regime in Hungary initiated a new blood purge to crush anti-Communist resistance, a group of American students paraded through Moscow as participants in a "Youth Festival" there. Our State Department has announced that it told the students that their participation would be exploited for propaganda purposes — but that it did nothing to prevent their going. (When these Americans marched before Soviet officials last Sunday, they "dipped" the American flag in tribute to the Red bosses. Such treatment of the flag is forbidden in the United States by state and Federal law.)

2) The Central Committee of the World Council of Churches opened its annual meeting in New Haven, Connecticut, July 31. Among the members of the Committee, as guests of the Yale Divinity School, are Communist "clergymen" from countries behind the Iron Curtain. While these representatives of Red dictatorships are received as respected guests, however, anti-Communist American clergy have found themselves "shut out" by the Yale administration. The American Council of Christian Churches, seeking to hold a protest meeting against the Communists, was denied the use of facilities at Yale, and found itself denounced as a "gangster" organization by a representative of the Yale authorities. The protest meeting was finally held in New Haven's Taft Hotel.

Events such as these, it is observed, are straws in the "coexistence" wind — suggesting that "friendly" overtures at high levels may be having their effect on public thinking. Recommended remedy: continued pressure — against trade with Red China or "summit" meetings — by anti-Communists on their legislators.

High Court: A brigade of veteran anti-Communists administered an authoritative thumping to the Supreme Court last week — in an impressive protest against its recent "Red Monday" and other similar decisions:

- The American Bar Association struck first, July 25, as its committee on Communist activities recommended legislation to blunt the effect of 15 recent High Court decisions involving Red subversion. The report, presented to the ABA convention in London by former Maryland Senator Herbert O'Conor, asked for legislation to protect FBI files, to maintain the scope of Congressional investigations and to restore the original meaning of the Smith Act. The report was enthusiastically received by the ABA's House of Delegates.
- Senator William E. Jenner (R.-Ind.) continued the siege, July 26, with a heavily documented speech on the floor of the Senate. Jenner then submitted a bill (S. 2646) to deprive the Court of appellate jurisdiction in subversive cases handled by Congress, Government departments and the states. He cited the constitutional provision (Article III, Section 2) that the Supreme Court's jurisdiction shall be defined "with such exceptions, and under such regulations, as the Congress shall make."
- FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover delivered the third blow to the Court, in his annual report to the Attorney General, Monday, July 29. The Department of Justice

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release, while not mentioning the Court, gave prominent first-page position to this statement of Hoover's:

"The very basis of our success [in obtaining internal security data] is the FBI's assurance to this country's citizens that the information they give will be maintained in the strictest confidence in our files."

Civil Rights: Passage of the hotly debated jury trial amendment, early Friday morning, continued the series of "civil rights" victories rolled up by conservative forces in the Senate.

The 51-42 vote, it is said, may kill the "civil rights" bill for this session. For — even if it is passed by the Senate — many believe that the jury trial provision will make the measure unacceptable to "civil rights" advocates in the House, which would have to ratify the amended version.

One aspect of the debate, highlighted by the jury trial victory, continues to stir speculation in the Capital: the assistance that Southern forces receive from Republicans and "liberal" Democrats. In Friday's vote, 12 GOP Senators and all but nine Democrats voted for the jury trial amendment.

Political observers seeking to illuminate this phenomenon refer to the "bombshell" that fell into the "civil rights" debate last week. A furious race riot in Chicago, July 28, exploded in the faces of Northern "liberals," and effectively cut the ground from under Senator Paul Douglas — the moralizing "civil rights" leader from Illinois.

"The effect," commented one observer, "was as though someone posing as a marriage counsellor suddenly found himself haled into divorce court."

Georgia's Senator Richard Russell, leader of the Southern forces, was quick to turn the Chicago riot against Douglas and his "civil rights" cohorts. Citing this and a similar previous disturbance in Detroit, Russell stated that the "liberal" position was, in effect:

"We have a method. It is bad. We do have race riots. We have to call out a thousand policemen to protect a certain area, because of our system. You [the South] are not having any race riots, but you must adopt our methods, even though it will bring race riots to your door."

The Chicago riot, utilized by Russell to confound the "liberals," merely opened the door on a hushed-up subject that has long been the subject of political speculation: the fact that many large population centers in the North have become cauldrons of racial strife. HUMAN EVENTS previewed this phenomenon, and some of its possible implications, a year ago (August 25, 1956). Friction between Northern white constituents and Negroes, it was reported, could eventually lead to a "cooling off" by many Northern politicians toward extreme "civil rights" measures. (Further aspects of this "civil rights" paradox were explored in HUMAN EVENTS for July 27, 1957 — the day preceding the Chicago riot.)

The tentative conclusion of analysts in the Capital: it is likely that racial tensions back home have served as a check on legislators outside the South, producing such compromises as the elimination of Section III of the "civil rights" bill and passage of the jury trial amendment.

MacArthur: General Douglas MacArthur, long recognized as America's most accomplished strategist in the struggle against Communist aggression, drew plaudits last week for a penetrating diagnosis of our domestic peril. The insatiable spending habits of Big Government, MacArthur told the stockholders of the Sperry Rand Corporation, "threatens to destroy the free enterprise system." Heavy spending and taxation, he said, must be stopped — under pain of floundering into complete socialism. (For the story of an up-coming tribute to General MacArthur, see Article Section II of this issue.)

States' Rights: Philip M. Talbott, new president of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, this week delivered a biting attack on Federal assumption of powers properly belonging to the states, and, indirectly, on President Eisenhower for going along with what Talbott viewed as such usurpation.

Testifying before a House subcommittee on relations of Federal and state governments, Talbott said the Chamber was "greatly encouraged" by the President's Williamsburg speech calling for a new study of this problem. But he added that the Chamber was "not wholly in agreement."

"There was an implied conclusion," he said, "that if state and local governments did not fully meet the presumed governmental needs or demands of their people, there was a standing invitation for the national Government to intervene. . . ."

Talbott disagreed with this philosophy, "because it tacitly ignores the fact that the desires of the people may be in excess of either the ability of the private economy or governmental action to fulfill them."

The field of labor-management relations, Talbott said, is one in which Federal jurisdiction has been broadened improperly to include numerous areas which properly belong to the states. Extension of the Wage-Hour law's coverage to retail and service establishments — for which the Administration and many members of Congress are clamoring — would further extend Federal jurisdiction to millions of workers not in any sense engaged in interstate commerce.

Political Briefs: The misplays of USIA Director Arthur Larson are rapidly becoming the Capital's most abundant source of bizarre anecdotes. Larson's latest blunder occurred at a press conference last week, when he informed reporters that he was installing a "central news desk" at the Voice of America. Afterwards, newsmen drily pointed out that the Voice has had just such a "central news desk" for the past eight years — a fact of which Larson was apparently ignorant.

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● Friends and admirers of former President Herbert Hoover plan to send him greetings on the occasion of his 83rd birthday, August 10. Hoover's address: Waldorf Towers, New York, N.Y. (For commentary on Hoover's distinguished career of public service, see "Herbert Hoover: Triumph of Integrity," by Eugene Lyons, in Article Section I of this issue.)

● A group of 176 businessmen recently voiced their emphatic opposition to trade with Red China. In an open letter to the President, the group stated that "our trade would help maintain and consolidate the enslavement of the Chinese people." Among the signers:

John T. Beatty, Charles Edison, Lawrence Fertig, Norman J. Gould, J. Peter Grace, Jr., Walter Harnischfeger, A. O. Hemphill, Tom L. Horn, Robert H. Irvine, Herbert V. Kohler, Mrs. Arthur Bliss Lane, William L. McGrath, C. H. Milliken, George S. Montgomery, Jr., Admiral Ben Moreell, Henry J. Neils, J. Howard Pew, Harold F. Pitcairn, H. W. Prentis, Jr., Louis Ruthenberg, P. M. Shoemaker, Igor I. Sikorsky, Miss Olive Simes, DeWitt Wallace, General Albert C. Wedemeyer.

● In Arizona, a group of embattled farmers — dismayed by bureaucratic waste and dawdling — sliced through Government red tape and built themselves a 401-foot bridge across the Colorado river. When the Government began to chastise them last month, the following facts developed: the law states that the farmers should have had the approval of no less than six Federal and state agencies. Under those conditions, it was estimated, the bridge would have taken a year to build and would have cost $250,000. The farmers, acting on their own, built the bridge for $50,000.

● "Revisionists" note with approval that Admiral Husband E. Kimmel — "scapegoat" of the Pearl Harbor disaster connived at by FDR — has been elected President of his Naval Academy Class of 1904. Kimmel's election, said Vice Admiral John H. Shafroth — writing in *Shipmate*, the official Naval Academy alumni magazine — "has a significance far beyond that in the normal election of a class president." It represents, Shafroth commented, a vindication of Kimmel by the men who know him best.

Neutralism: The recent visit of Pakistan's plain-spoken, camera-wielding Prime Minister, H. S. Suhrawardy, is recapped here as a welcome contrast to the usual parade of "neutralists" visiting the Capital. Addressing the National Press Club during his stay in Washington, Suhrawardy affirmed Pakistan's policy of strong anti-communism, and aimed a few well-chosen barbs at India's fellow-travelling premier, Jawaharlal Nehru. Suhrawardy characterized "neutralism" as a form of international blackmail, of which his country wanted no part.

Pakistan's position, say foreign observers, explodes the "liberal" myth that America must sustain "neutralist" India as "the only alternative" to Red China. By supporting firm anti-Communists in Asia, and leaving fence-straddlers to fend for themselves — it is said — America will discourage the spread of "neutralism" and communism alike.

● Evidence that "neutralism" is not the natural order of things in Asia is the growth of the Asian peoples' Anti-Communist League. Born at a 1954 Conference in Korea, this organization works to unite people throughout Asia in a common front against communism. Members include representatives from Free China, South Korea, the Philippines, Thailand, Vietnam, Turkey, Pakistan and Australia.

Readers interested in learning more about this group should write to: Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League; 101 South Yen Ping Road; Taipei, Taiwan, China.

Book Front: As part of its program to arm American soldiers against Communist "brainwashing" tactics, the Defense Department has purchased 100,000 copies of *A Ride to Panmunjom*, by Duane Thorin (Henry Regnery Co., $4). The book, which will be distributed to servicemen in paperback form, with a foreword by Secretary of Defense Charles E. Wilson, is a story of Americans captured during the Korean War. Author Thorin, himself a POW during the Korean conflict, draws on his own experience and observation to portray those characteristics that enabled prisoners to withstand "brainwashing" — and those that caused others to "cave in."

Between Covers: *Modern Age, A Conservative Review*, edited by Russell Kirk; Foundation for Foreign Affairs; 64 E. Jackson Boulevard, Chicago 4, Ill.; $3 per year.

This new quarterly review, ably edited by Russell Kirk, fills a long-standing gap in the ranks of conservative publications. It offers a forum in which scholars of conservatism can explore, with thoroughness, the fundamental issues beneath the political and moral turmoil of our times. The first issue contains articles by several eminent scholars — including two posthumously published essays of Spanish philosopher Ortega y Gasset. Other contributors include Richard M. Weaver, Geoffrey Wagner, Frederick Wilhelmsen and Eric von Kuehnelt-Leddihn.

Letter from JOHN R. PILLION, Member of Congress, 42nd District of New York: "I appreciate receiving my weekly edition of HUMAN EVENTS as I always find it very factual and informative. Your concise reporting of the various issues of importance makes this publication a pleasure to receive."

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Article Section I

Herbert Hoover: Triumph of Integrity

By EUGENE LYONS

NEARLY A DECADE ago I wrote a short biography of Herbert Hoover which I called *Our Unknown Ex-President.* I was alluding, of course, to what seemed to me the tragic failure of the American people to comprehend the human being behind the masks.

The falsest and cruelest of these masks had been deliberately fabricated by partisan malice. For some 15 years hordes of propagandists labored zealously on the myth of a monster who "caused" a depression and then "did nothing" to alleviate its horrors. In utter contempt of fact and logic, they brainwashed the country — and especially the new generation that had little personal memory of Hoover's epic humanitarian achievements before he came to the White House — into accepting him as symbol of the very things he most abhorred: fascism, reaction, depression, complacency in the face of human suffering.

Another mask had been imposed by his own introverted nature, by his essential shyness and distaste for personal ballyhoo. Uniquely among political leaders, Hoover was compelled by his innermost character to build walls between his private and his public personalities. He succeeded in concealing, as I wrote at the time, "the warm, whimsical and tender Hoover known to his intimates, the very human and deeply humane Quaker behind the solemn facade."

Unhappily, this native mask greatly facilitated the job of ungallant and dirty-minded little men in big places who were fashioning the grotesque myth. For one thing, had the people had a better understanding of the real man they would not so readily have surrendered their common sense by accepting the propaganda hoax. For another, Hoover was inhibited by his sensibilities from putting up a robust and effective self-defense. He would not, indeed could not, descend to the level of demagogic mudgunning, and so left a clear field for mischievous vilification.

But even before my book came off the presses its title began to lose some of its validity. Around 1947 it became evident that Hoover's long ordeal by abuse was drawing to an end. With the passing of the New Deal era more and more Americans were becoming ashamed of its self-righteous immorality and its zeal for smearing critics. And the public rehabilitation of our 31st President, once started, proceeded with dramatic swiftness.

THE SPEED and completeness of the collapse of the ugly myth is a remarkable episode in our national history. Republican politicians who had long sought to disown Hoover were suddenly treating him as one of the party's important assets. Even the so-called "liberal" press turned deferential. Those who continued to distrust Hoover's views were awed by his moral stature. In the renewed esteem for the man, in the revived pride in his greatness, there was a strong element of plain remorse. The country recognized that in persecuting Hoover it had dishonored itself, and to this day the injustice visited upon him weighs on the national conscience.

It was naturally assumed, in the years of his eclipse, that Hoover was "embittered." The assumption was false. He was saddened and profoundly hurt, but calm and tolerant. Upon the mudgunners he looked not in hatred but in pity. His humility is inborn, Quakerish, but too genuine to be alloyed with false modesty. In the midst of his ordeal he knew, with an engineer's knowledge of reality, that time inevitably would straighten out the record.

It was this that helped him to remain equable under the hail of insults. He stood where he had always stood, for it was not in him to make compromises. He did not catch up with the people — the people were streaming back to him, shamefaced and penitent, after their hectic wanderings.

Fortunately for himself and his friends, the inevitable change came while he was still alive. Fortunately for the country, it came while his amazing abilities and energies were undiminished, so that he could carry out more great enterprises in benevolence and public service.

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The fact that popular admiration and affection for Hoover continue to grow attests, I think, the core of simple decency at the heart of America. His life adds up to a classic triumph of integrity.

The one thing that his partisans and detractors always agreed upon is that Hoover is "no politician." The implication is not that he is deficient in sound political judgment, but that he lacks dexterity in selling himself and his policies to the crowd, in playing on mass emotion. There simply is not enough flexibility, not enough gift for cutting moral corners, in his make-up. Ideas to him are not externals to be adjusted to current fashions. The professionals in the political game could never feel at their ease with this stern amateur and his moral imperatives.

The cynical Charles Michelson, who had made Hoover-baiting his life's work for a fee, used to write about "the Hoover organization." He wasn't referring to a conventional political machine fueled by patronage and self-interests. Hoover could not have built such a machine if he had tried. Michelson was referring to groups of Hoover's dedicated friends, none of them politicians — "the small but efficient army . . . that still calls him Chief and is ready to mobilize at a word." Actually they mobilized without a word. Having come to know him intimately as his associates in public service, they remained forever after reserve officers in that extraordinary army disciplined only by love of one man and faith in his integrity.

Normally great men are less heroic to their intimates than to the public at large. Hoover is the supreme exception. Ten years ago I wrote that "Hoover has a multitude of enemies but no ex-friends." Nothing has happened since then to change this. Not one of the men and women who worked closely with him, through all the decades of his immense and varied activities, has ever turned against him. Their devotion to him comes close to adoration and has in it, too, an element of protectiveness, as if he needed to be shielded against the pettiness and connivings of lesser men.

TODAY, AT 83, Hoover's public personality is warmer, less austere than in the past; but it is still separate from the private Hoover. The original mask, the one imposed by his own nature, has not been wholly removed. Myraid episodes in his career and qualities in his character that point up his nobility remain the esoteric inside knowledge of those who call him Chief. Future generations no doubt will take fuller and more accurate measure of the man.

Already, however, the country senses the wholeness, the genuineness of Herbert Hoover. It sees in him, as in a mirror, the best in its own character and history. He has been the instrument of America's most humane and disinterested impulses in relation to the rest of mankind — a personification of charity joined with efficiency that is somehow peculiarly American.

There is nothing spurious, nothing petty, in the Hoover story. He has not lived, like most of his contemporaries, with an eye on opinion polls and intellectual fashions. His philosophy of life has not been an improvisation of expediency or a rationalization of self-interest, but has been wholly integral with the man.

Herbert Hoover is a great monolithic figure. Rarely has such a capacious intelligence as his been combined with such a great heart and robust spirit. In honoring him on his 83rd birthday, August 10, we his countrymen honor ourselves. For his career is deep-rooted in the American soil and integral with our national heritage.

Eugene Lyons is a Senior Editor of the *Reader's Digest* and former Editor of *The American Mercury*. In addition to his biography of former President Hoover, *Our Unknown Ex-President* (now out of print), he has written numerous books on communism and the Soviet Union. His most recent contribution to HUMAN EVENTS was "The Coming Russian Revolution," June 15, 1957.

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Article Section II

Korea Salutes General MacArthur

By EDNA FLUEGEL

SEOUL, KOREA.

THERE'S A GREAT DAY coming for Korea—MacArthur Day, Inchon Day, American Day, Korea Day — in fact, several days when a whole nation plans to say "thank you" by giving.

From its poverty and urgent needs Korea has raised money — not a great sum to Americans, perhaps, but touchingly vast as a voluntary contribution from the people of the Republic of Korea. From its officialdom it has drawn a Who's Who of Korea to serve on the various planning and welcoming committees. Every class, every occupation and every business association is represented at some stage of the project. The program encompasses all of Korea, old and new, from classic dances and Mansei (three cheers) to the ROK army and a detailed schedule that reflects the impact of American military procedures on Korean public administration.

The days are September 14-20, 1957. The day of days is September 15, when a statue of General of the Army Douglas MacArthur is to be unveiled high on a hill overlooking Inchon city and the site of his — and the free world's — great victory. The location is breathtaking; the statue, even in the rough clay form in which I saw it, is a masterpiece that will satisfy MacArthur admirers the world over.

This article is being written on June 22 after a day at Inchon and a visit to Manguk to see the statue in its present state. It is one day after America's historic decision to face up to reality by modernizing military equipment here because the Communists have ceaselessly violated the armistice. It is three days after the writer stood in the "Security Area," on Communist territory, and viewed the Bridge of No Return, with places that once were news spread out in all directions.

The scars of two Communist occupations are still vivid in Seoul, where the enemy is minutes away by jet-flight — a mere hour and a half by old-fashioned truck transport. Seoul is rebuilding, as is the whole of Korea. Though this is a city and a nation on the alert, where war is expected sooner or later, it is far removed from the fears of Washington and London — the fears that limited victory to South Korea, that deprived us of the chance to reverse the loss of China, and that may have made major war inevitable.

THIS LAND will be a military frontier of America for a long time — but it is thanks to Inchon that there is a Republic of Korea on this territory and that a frontier for both America and Korea is here at all. This the Koreans understand, both in terms of Inchon and later. Most of them believe that MacArthur was right in April 1951; many know the role he played on his return to America; some followed his great addresses and know that an aroused public opinion — further informed by such organizations as the American Legion and other patriotic societies — has contributed greatly toward stiffening American policy toward communism in Asia. And so Korea is giving this statue and these days in a tribute to a foreigner, a tribute unique in the long history of an ancient land.

Here is what the Koreans are planning. They want General MacArthur, his wife, his son and his aides to come to Korea on September 14. Everything that the Koreans could jam into the next few days is scheduled — and reportedly a large slice of the Republic will also be squeezed in somewhere between Seoul and Inchon. When a mere American tries to explain here that many American communities have also wanted MacArthur and that invitations from other countries have not been few,

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the Koreans with whom I have spoken say: "But we love MacArthur. He's ours. He surely will come if he is able."

The statue I saw today is a masterpiece in the making. It is 12 feet high. When finished in bronze it will rest on a 20-foot-high base on the top of a hill overlooking the city, the island on which the initial landing was made and the water far beyond. The statue is the creation of Kyong Sungkim, Professor of Hong-ik University. With ten assistants, he has been at work about a month in a "studio" that is itself incredible to an American — yet probably very similar to the "studios" from which the world's greatest art treasures emerged. Approaching through muddy, narrow alleys, surrounded by the din and crowds of swarming Manguk, you go up a precarious flight of wooden stairs to a room barren of modern equipment — but you don't notice the room or its lack of equipment for a long time.

For there, caught by some magic of the artist's skill and devotion, is MacArthur: the strategist who had to gamble because the issues were global and freedom itself was at stake; the commander loaded with honors who risked a great career, because he alone believed it could be done. He has just lowered his field glass and probably has heard the first favorable reports. The jubilation of some of the famous photographs has not yet come — but there is a surcease of tension, an almost-calm, though not yet relaxed, feeling. There is motion, realistic appraisal; you almost expect him to turn to a companion and say, "It *will* work."

To Koreans, this statue and these scheduled days of rejoicing and of giving mean much. Korea has come a long, hard way. It has a long, hard way to go. It must produce and maintain the military might it needs, and the economic strength and social consciousness it must have to develop a sizeable middle class — on which alone the democracy to which it aspires can be soundly based. It is weighed down, not only with problems of reconstruction, but with a heritage of decades of occupation. It is short on technical skills, managerial ability, and leadership qualities. Surrounded by Communist enemies and a former conquerer it still distrusts, with its northern half still held by the Communists, this nation needs a "breather." Korea needs a chance to "point with pride" and, above all, a chance to give — to shower on a hero it has adopted as its own all its affection and devotion.

To Americans, this statue and these days are not without significance. Americans are not notably popular in many lands. Nor have we been overburdened with gratitude. There are other countries where Americans have fought and died, where American treasure has been freely unloaded, where America stands guard against the common foe. There are those who say that no great power should expect gratitude, and that East and West cannot meet in friendship or in mutual appreciation. But Korea is grateful and it is no small thing for one nation to enshrine as a national hero a man of another allegiance. That a man of the West kept faith with a small nation of the East and that the nation, in turn, remembers and is grateful may be a fact worthy of prayerful reflection by a disillusioned and troubled America.

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